

v. 6 no 5
CONCERNING THE CONFERENCE.

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The Secret Treaty between Germany and Japan.

The Shantung Question

BY

GUSTAVE GOUIN

Introduction by Mr. PAUL-MEUNIER

Member for l'Aube,
Political Director of "La Vérité".



Maps of The Shantung Peninsula.

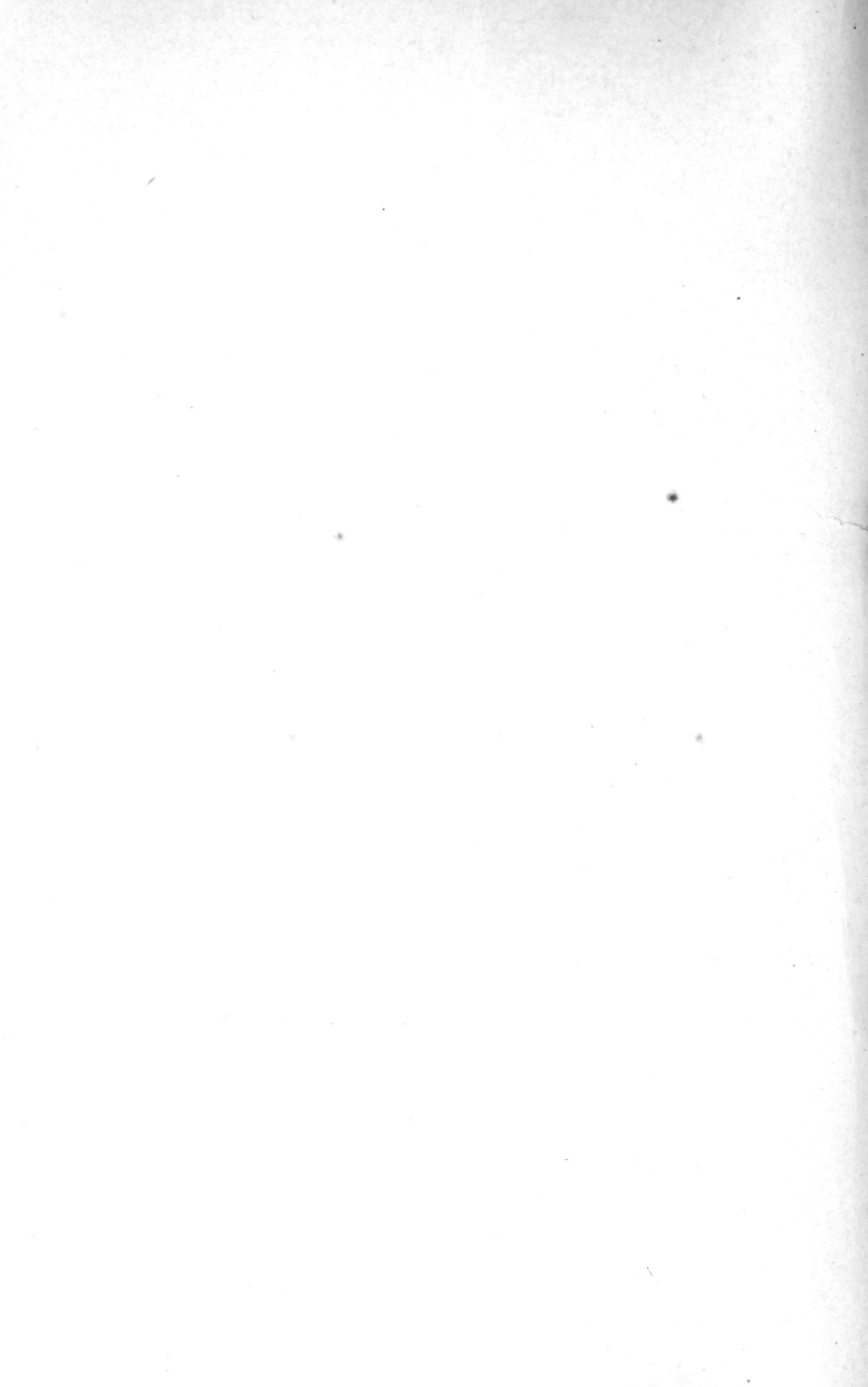
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INTRODUCTION.

I have retained undying memories of the charming evening of the Foreign Press Social which was organized in honour of the Chinese Republic at the Peace Conference.

There remains with me a deep impression of the very fine speech delivered by Mr. Kung-Siang-Ko, descendant of the illustrious Confucius and Chairman of the Provincial Council of Shantung, who presided at the Function.

Nor am I likely to forget the charges brought by the great Chinese statesman against the blind, mad, or dishonest diplomatists who had the unworthy effrontery to rob China of her fairest province.

Shantung is as important as France; it is a fine country. Its inhabitants thoroughly and entirely Chinese are passionately devoted to the Mother-Country.

Imperial Germany conceived the idea of putting its hand on this portion of China.

With the defeat of Germany, China thought she would be liberated, saved. But nothing of the sort happened.

China's powerful allies plunder her in their turn,

take away against her will this splendid piece of territory, and arbitrarily give it to the Japanese Empire.

This is the way Wilson's principle of self-determination is respected, as far as China is concerned.

People who never ceased to be a part of China have not even the right to be a part now.

It is the same as if Brittany or Vendée were taken from ourselves to-morrow. Who would tolerate it?

Of course, the Chinese Republic is a power of little strength. It has only four hundred million inhabitants.

But soon it will be one of the mightiest states in the world, because of its industry, its intelligence, its science and its patience.

Let it, therefore, be regarded with respect and awe.

The injustice practised on her at present may be paid for at a heavy price. China is not going to be treated thus. Nor will we allow it. We are with her against injustice and violence.

We will not ratify the Peace Treaty unless the unjust articles relating to Shantung are struck out.

PAUL-MEUNIER,
Member of Parliament,
Director of "La Vérité".

To the Honourable Members of Parliament and of the Senate.

Among the many omissions and imperfections of the Peace Treaty, there is one glaring injustice. Unless modified or amended by Parliaments or by the League of Nations, it will be solemnly enshrined in the Peace Treaty, and it consists in Japan's seizure — putting herself in Germany's place — of the Chinese province of Shantung which is about one quarter of the area of France and contains forty million inhabitants, exclusively Chinese.

By treaties obtained by force, in 1898, Germany exercised rights on the Chinese territory of Shantung.

Germany is defeated.

Japan, like China, has played its part in bringing about the common victory. It would be a very good thing as well as a highly meritorious action if Japan, as a reward for her participation in the war, had not insisted on taking Germany's place in Shantung.

In 1915, while the war was raging, under the pressure of a formal ultimatum, Japan forced the Chinese Government by means of a secret treaty (secret so as not to stir up universal indignation) to give her all the rights it pleased her to demand in a note known since by the title of The Twenty-One demands.

The Peace Treaty, which China refused to sign unless with reservations, ratifies this unjust substitution.

We have fought for Justice and for Right. It is proper to

demand for every state, great or small, strong or weak, Right and Justice.

In ratifying new acts of injustice by a Peace Treaty which is unjust and arbitrary, by renewing the experience of Alsace-Lorraine we do not bring about the universal peace for which we have striven but new conflicts and new wars.

For it is impossible for the French Parliament to agree to it.

We will furnish it with evidence which will enable it to come to a decision on the Shantung Question.

We hope — for the honour of France who suffered so long from the Treaty of violence of 1870-71 — that the representatives of the Country of Justice and of Liberty will unanimously protest against the injustice practised on China.

They will be only voicing the feelings of their colleagues in the American Parliament, particularly those of Senators Lodge, Borah and Norris, in demanding that this Peace, which should inaugurate a new era for humanity, should be based on Equity, Right and Justice.

We have confidence in their strong common sense, as well as in their moral sense.

G. G.

Why China did not sign the Peace.

**The Chinese delegates at the Peace Conference
would not dishonour a signature nor betray the
Chinese people of Shantung.**

The Chinese delegates remained away from the ceremony at Versailles on the 28th June. Mr. Poincaré, President of the Republic, and all the Marshals of France Joffre, Pétain and Foch were also absent.

The Chinese delegates refused to sign the Treaty prepared by the Four. We wanted to meet the delegates of the great republic of the Far East, in order to get from them personally an explanation of their attitude.

We met them. Let it be said at once, they are perfect gentlemen, men of the world. Of small stature with big dark wrinkled eyes, hidden behind gold-rimmed spectacles they express themselves in faultless French without a trace of an accent.

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Why did we not sign? Well, for the simple reason that we were painfully compelled to take the course we did so as not to dishonour our signature and so that we might not betray the Chinese people of the Shantung.

“You know what are the claims regarding Shantung. La Verité has been the first French paper to set them forth clearly.

“The Shantung Peninsula, which is about a quarter of the size of France with a population of forty million was a zone of German influence. The Japanese, as a reward for their inter-

vention at Kiao-Chou, demand for their own profit the exercise of the rights exercised by the Germans.

“ They obtained from the previous President of the Chinese Republic, — under the threat of an ultimatum, with the knife on one's throat as it were — a signature to a **secret** treaty, which it is our mission to denounce at the Peace Conference, because it gives to Japan an impossible concession, which from the **economic** standpoint amounts to the absolute seizure of the Shantung Peninsula.

“ All our efforts with the representatives of the great powers — France, England, America and Italy — have been fruitless.

“ Although article 20 of the Peace Treaty states that all secret treaties should be annulled, our case would not get a hearing.

“ On the very morning on which the Peace Treaty was to be signed, and on which we should have been so glad to have been able to affix our signatures as the delegates of China, we asked to have an interview with Mr. Clemenceau, President of the Conference. We were received by his secretary Mr. Dutasta. We requested that we should put a reservation before our signature or that there should be annexed to the Peace Treaty a written statement setting forth the reservations we had enuniated at the meeting of the plenary commission of the 6th of last May relating to the Shantung question.

“ A messenger, who carried our request, was sent by Mr. Dutasta to Mr. Clemenceau. He returned saying that Mr. Clemenceau could allow **no reservation before the signature**.

“ We were told on that occasion : “ **Sign first, we shall talk afterwards. Send a declaration.** ”

“ Such language is all right to an enemy, to Germany for example; but it is inexcusable in the highest degree when addressed to an ally. We are, it is true, a nation of little strength yet, despite our four hundred million inhabitants, but is that any reason that China should be treated as a child?

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“ Accordingly there was only one course open to us, an

extreme course, one which we regret exceedingly to have been compelled to adopt, viz : **to refuse to sign the Peace Treaty.**

“ But we do not wish the French or allied public to entertain any false ideas about our conduct. We do not want to break away from you. We remain loyally by your side. **We were with the Entente, and we are with it still.**

“ When it was suggested to us to sign without stating our reservations, it was also suggested to us not to honour our signature, by disregarding the text itself and its spirit. We were encouraged to regard treaties only as **scraps of paper**, which was a much worse suggestion.

“ Our civilisation is too old and our morality is of too long standing to allow ourselves to be a party to such actions.

“ Knowing in our hearts that if we signed, we should either dishonour our signature, by not discharging our obligations, or betray the Chinese, we could not sign, we did not sign.

“ We can redeem only those pledges whose consequences we have fully weighed, so that we can carry them out honourably. That is a duty we owe not only to the people of China, but also to international morality. ”

After noting such clear and definite statements, we can do nothing but approve of the action of the Chinese delegates.

The Shantung Peninsula.

Geographical Position. — Population.

History. — Natural Resources.

Shantung — one of the eighteen provinces of China — is washed on the East by the Yellow Sea and bounded on the North and on the West by the Gulf of Petchili, on the South by Honan and the Kiang-Sou.

It has been said that Shantung is in some respects a miniature China. From every point of view, geographical, historical, agricultural and mineral, it is an epitome of the whole of China. About a quarter of the size of France, it supports a population which the last census gives as 38,347,000. The density of population is very great comparatively, since it is four times that of France.

Shantung with the fertility of its plain and the natural wealth of its mountains was the birthplace of the two great Chinese philosophers : Confucius and Mencius. The old monuments which recall these national glories have made Shantung the Holy Land of the Chinese.

The holy mountain of Taichan has been for twenty centuries a place of pilgrimage among the five mountains of the Shantung.

The Yellow River flows from the west to the east of this province, which is traversed from North to South by the Great Imperial Canal, the work of giants, and dates from the eighth century.

The mountainous district is particularly rich in minerals, which most of all have aroused the jealous greed of China's neighbours.

Coal, iron, copper, tin and some gold are found.

The splendid Bay of Kiao-Chou considerably enhances the value of the Chinese minerals in the Shantung.

There are other valuable products in this magnificent province : silk, oil, leather, wool cotton, etc.

For many centuries a single highway starting from the Bay of Kiao-Chou went westwards passing through Weilhsien and Tsinan; now a railway connects the harbour of Tsing-Tao with Weilhsien and Tsainan, as well as a railway line from Tientsin Poukeou which runs northwards to Peking and southwards to Nankin and to Shanghai. Other lines are in course of construction.

Such is, in the words of our contemporary The Times, “ the province of Shantung, which according to the decision of the Peace Conference Japan must give to China in full sovereignty, **while reserving the economic privileges over the mines, railways, etc., acquired by Germany in 1898.** ” This “ full sovereignty ” seems to us to be strangely attenuated. Our great contemporary does not appear to be too willing to tell us how these “ privileges ” were “ acquired ” by Germany.

We are going to do so.

How Germany “acquired privileges” in the Shantung Peninsula in 1898.

The Murder of the Missionaries.

The Asiatic-German fleet had made many weary cruises along the Chinese coast in search of a suitable naval base and port in the Far East. An official German Commission had selected the Bay of Kiao-Chou as the most suitable, when the murder of two missionaries in 1897 in the interior of the province of Shantung, under circumstances outside the control of the local authorities, gave the German Government the long-sought pretext to have recourse to force to attain its end. On the Kaiser's orders, four German men-of-war landed an expeditionary force on the coast of the Bay of Kiao-Chau, and the Germans without further delay announced their occupation of the territory. In face of the imminent danger resulting from the presence of German troops on Chinese territory, the Chinese Government was obliged to come to an agreement with Germany on the 6th March 1898.

“The right of protection of the Tsing-Tao Chinan Railway belonged to China. Article 16 of the agreement of the 21st March 1900 contained this clause : ‘If troops are necessary outside the 50 kilometres zone, they will be sent by the Government of the province of Shantung. **No foreign troops can be employed for this purpose**’.”

It was in virtue of this agreement that China, while keeping

all her rights of sovereignty, fixed around the Bay of Kiao-Chou a zone of 50 kilometres from the high tide mark to be used as a passage by the German troops at all times. It also gave Germany permission to have a lease for ninety-nine years of both sides of the entrance of the Bay of Kiao-Chou as well as of a certain number of islands.

By the same agreement Germany obtained the right to construct two lines of railway in Shantung and to improve the mines situated within fifteen kilometres of the line. The railways as well as the mines were to be exploited by Chino-German companies, who were appointed for this purpose. Chinese business men as well as Germans could be shareholders, and could appoint the directors of the companies. In addition to this the Chinese Government was obliged to make offers to German manufacturers and traders whenever foreign assistance, whether in men, capital, or material, was necessary for any purpose whatsoever.

The Tsing-Tao-Chinan Railway with its branch measuring altogether 434 kilometres was one of the lines for which they got the concession.

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In 1900 German troops were sent and remained at Kaomi and Kiao-Chou, which are situated in the 50 kilometres zone, but outside the territory held on lease. However, in accordance with an agreement dated 28th November 1905 between the Chinese Governor of Shantung and the German Governor of Tsing-Tao, Germany withdrew her troops to Tsing-Tao and recognised China's right of police over the part of the railway situated on the 50 kilometres zone and over the remaining western portion, as well as the right to have Chinese police regulations enforced in the other parts of the Shantung Peninsula. A Chinese police station was immediately established at Kiao-Chou, and the police control of the section of the interior of the zone was duly assumed by China.

Germany possessed, besides, certain preferential rights over the railways in Shantung.

By an exchange of notes on the 29th November 1913 China gave Germany the right of preference in financing and constructing two railway lines and furnishing the necessary material.

One of these lines was to go from Kaomi to a point in the line Tien-Tsin-Poukeou fixed provisionally at Hanchuan, and the other from Chinan to a point on the line Pekin-Hankow between Shungteh and Sinhsiang.

In exchange Germany renounced her preferential rights concerning the Tehchow-Chenting line and the Yenchow-Kaifeng line, as well as the concession granted by the agreement of the 6th March 1898 for the construction of two lines crossing the southern part of the province of Shantung. Germany also agreed to ratify the agreement of the 24 th July 1911 between the Governor of the province of Shantung and the Mining Company concerning the boundaries of the mining districts.

Subsequently Germany obtained by an exchange of notes on 10th June 1914, a preferential right for a loan to extend the Chinan-Shunteh line to the west, for the Chefoo-Weihsien line and the Tsining-Kaifeng line.

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How the murder of the two unfortunate missionaries was avenged !

The German Government gets out of the murder of sergeant Mannheim for a hundred thousand francs, and the city of Berlin refuses to pay the indemnity of one million francs demanded by the French Government !

How much would victorious Germany have demanded from the city of Paris for the murder of a Prussian non-commissioned officer.

Her economic attitude towards China in 1898 shows us that she would have been able, in the famous words of the *Times*, "to obtain in that country very profitable privileges in perpetuity".

DURING THE WAR.

China and Japan.

The part played by Japan.

On the 24th August 1914, after having prevented China from entering into the conflict with Germany, and after taking possession of the fortress of Kiao-Chou, Japan declared herself on the side of the allies.

Japan's aim.

For the proper understanding and appreciation of Japan's real aim, it is necessary to quote here the first instructions given by Baron Kato, Japanese Minister at Peking, on the 3rd December, 1914. These instructions precede the text of the Twenty One Demands which it was his duty to submit to the Chinese Government.

|| " In order to arrive at an understanding of the situation resulting from the war between Japan and Germany, and with the object of assuring the Far East a durable peace by consolidating the position of the (Japanese) Empire, the Imperial Government has decided to enter into negotiations with the Chinese Government with a view to concluding treaties and agreements on the general lines outlined in the first four groups of propositions appended hereto (that is to say the Twenty One Demands). The Imperial Government thinks it is absolutely

essential for the consolidation of the Japanese position in Eastern Asia, as well as for the safeguarding of the general interests in this part of the world, to bring China to adhere to the propositions referred to, and it is **determined to attain this end by every means in its power.** You are accordingly requested to use all diligence in conducting the negotiations we submit to you.

(The text of these instructions was officially published at Tokio on the 9th June 1915.)

As a matter of fact when Japan was fighting against the German occupation of Kiao-Chou, she was fighting against China rather than Germany since it was simply a question of **consolidating the position of the Japanese Empire.**

It suited her purpose to exaggerate considerably her military participation in the struggle for world supremacy in order to get from the Powers the consent which was necessary for her project.

The Kiao-Chou bluff.

The German fortress of Kiao-Chou was defended by 5258 men only, comprising Germans and Austrians of every class.

Against this force equivalent to one brigade, Japan sent a regular expeditionary army fully organised and equipped. Her troops advanced 230 kilometres into the interior of the country behind the fortress under the pretext of surrounding it as much as possible.

The total losses sustained by the Japanese army are as follows :

Killed 12 officers, 324 men; Wounded 40 officers, 1140 men.

One cannot help stating that the losses are very small for such a vast operation as Japan intended. The loss arising from co-operation at sea was only one cruiser which struck a mine and its crew of 280 men.

Finally, we remark here that the Japanese met all requests for co-operation in Europe on the principal field of battle or in the Balkans, by a negative or by formulating impossible conditions.

The part played by China.

The Chinese Republic declared war on Germany and her allies on the 14th August 1917.

The first question which arises is : Why did not China go to war on the side of the allies as early as August 1914 ?

The answer is simple. Japan prevented her doing so, in order that she herself might be enabled to get established in Shantung under the pretext of driving the Germans out of Kiao-Chou.

As early as August 1914, China offered her intervention in the war.

Afterwards she offered to take part in the Anglo-Japanese expedition against Tsing-Tao. The answer she got was : “ Chinese intervention and participation might create difficulties with a third power ”.

This “ third power ” could only be Japan.

In November 1915, the Chinese Government renewed its request, seeing the protracted operations against Kiao-Chou were only a pretext. Japan refused to be helped.

On the 8th February 1917, Mr. Kroupenski, Russian ambassador at Tokio giving an account of his negotiations with the Japanese minister with a view to cancelling the Japanese veto on Chinese participation in the war, wrote as follows : “ The minister assured me that he must reckon with public opinion in Japan, but he must also safeguard Japan’s position at the Peace Conference, **in case China should be admitted to it**, and make certain of the support of the allies for the realisation of Japan’s desires regarding Shantung and the Islands of the Pacific.

These desires are briefly : “ Succession to the rights and privileges hitherto held by Germany in Shantung, and the acquisition of the islands north of the Equator which are in the actual occupation of Japan ”.

The Chinese labourers.

Thus it was only on the 14th August 1917 that China after

breaking off diplomatic relations with Germany declared war on her.

If China, who was ill-prepared from a military standpoint, did not send armed contingents, she gave the allies behind the trenches in the North of France more than 130,000 labourers, a certain number of whom were killed or wounded by enemy fire.

Besides the workmen China gave auxiliaries for the expeditionary corps in Mesopotamia and in German East Africa.

Chinese seamen were employed on British ships.

It is also right to say that an expeditionary corps of 100,000 men was to be sent to France to reinforce the Allies. The lack of ships was the chief obstacle to the execution of this project which had been approved by the Inter-Allied Committee at Paris.

Consequently it may be seen that if China's part in the great war has been less conspicuous and less trumpeted than that of Japan, at least China has done — in so far as she was allowed — all she could, and her action was quite disinterested.

How Japan extorted from China the secret treaty of 1915 and the “ agreement ” of 1918.

We have shown that the leasing to Germany in 1898 of the territory of Kiao-Chou and the granting of the different privileges were obtained from China by force.

The Shantung Peninsula is an integral part of China. The nationality of its inhabitants has never been questioned.

Now see at what time and in what manner Japan obtained from China the transference to herself of German rights in Shantung.

On the 18th January 1915, without any provocation on China's part, Japan aggressively submitted to the person of the President of the Chinese Republic a series of Twenty One Demands having reference to Manchuria, Eastern Mongolia and Shantung, and demanded from him absolute secrecy.

Despite his pacific sentiments he could not willingly agree to such demands.

An ultimatum from Japan requiring a favourable reply within forty eight hours compelled China to conclude with Japan on the 25th of May a treaty having reference to Shantung. The first article reads thus : “ The Chinese Government promises to give its full assent to whatever agreement the Japanese Government may be able to arrange with the German Government concerning the rights interests and concessions relating to the province of Shantung which have been possessed by Germany by virtue of treaties or otherwise ”.

China consented to the complete capitulation only in the hope that it would be a temporary arrangement, which the Peace Conference, after the victory of the Allies, would revise as an elementary act of the merest justice.

It is important to note that the text of this article has the bait even of the famous secret Germano-Japanese Treaty which Japan would certainly have concluded with Germany but for the outbreak of revolution in the latter country.

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But there is another agreement and it is right to denounce the circumstances associated with it. It is the agreement of the 24th September 1918.

Without waiting for the Peace Conference to ratify the transference to Japan of the rights and privileges acquired by Germany under the circumstances already described, the Japanese Government from its very entry into the war established its power over the whole of the province of Shantung.

Not only did Japanese troops exercise their despotic authority over all this country, which they came as it were to deliver from the tyranny of Germany, but the civil administration was no longer in Chinese hands but in Japanese.

The forcible military occupation was to cease with the surrender of the German fortress of Kiao-Chou, but how was the civil administration to be got rid of? That was the question the Chinese asked themselves, when the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs on the 24th September 1918 addressed to the Chinese Minister at Tokio a note the gist of which was : "The Japanese Government anxious to maintain the friendly relations between our two countries, and actuated by the desire of friendly co-operation proposes to arrange the Shantung question in accordance with the following article :

" The civil administration established by Japan and existing at present will be abolished. "

It may be imagined that under the circumstances the Chinese Government which has endured the worst could only declare itself happy in giving its assent to the articles proposed by the Japanese Government.

That is what it did.

A confirmation of the treaty of the 25th May 1915 is not to be found therein. It is only in a mutilated shape as a step towards its complete annulment.

Why the Secret Treaties and Agreements of 1915 and 1918 ought to be Cancelled.

All the treaties and agreements signed between China and Japan during the war were imposed on China under threat of military intervention. They are the offspring of the war, and they must be cancelled for several reasons.

In the first place they are at variance with the principle on which Peace should be based, Wilson's principle of self-determination. In the second place, in order to avoid protests and difficulties, Japan wanted to make secret treaties which are condemned by the Peace Treaty and by opinion generally.

Finally, they are a glaring injustice whose ratification in the actual treaty cannot fail to result in fresh wars with all the possibilities of complications which may make the earth red with blood once more.

America's Pledge.

On the 11th of May 1915, four days after Japan's ultimatum to China, the American Government cabled to Peking and to Tokio.

"Because of circumstances connected with the negotiations already started and still pending between Japan and China and the agreement resulting from them, the United States Government has the honour to inform the Chinese Republic that it will recognise no agreement or pledge between the Government of China and that of Japan which may affect the rights which

the United States and her citizens derive from treaties in China or which may affect the political or territorial integrity of China or the international policy known as the Policy of the Open Door as far as it relates to China. An identical note has been sent to the Japanese Government. ”

Then why does the Peace Treaty in articles 156, 157 and 158, quoted later on, ratify these treaties extorted from pacific China by the violence of Japan?

America has given its pledges. It must redeem them, and likewise all the allies who profess to have the same ideal of Right and Justice.

Judicious protests of republican senators were raised in America against the Conference so that President Wilson has been anxious to show in an official communication that he did not want to shoulder the responsibility.

But who will shoulder it?

If Peace is to inaugurate a new era of freedom of industry and of harmony in this world, if it is to be just and lasting it must not merely refrain from ratifying the sins of the past and the violence of war, but it must eliminate all that is opposed to international order, everything that may break the universal Peace.

The case of Alsace-Lorraine must not be repeated either in the West or in the East.

The Peace Treaty.

The following is the text of the Peace Treaty relating to China and to the Shantung Peninsula which was submitted to the German plenipotentiaries on the 16th June 1919.

SECTION VIII

SHANTUNG

Art. 156. — Germany renounces, in favour of Japan, all her rights, title and privileges — particularly those concerning the territory of Kiao-Chou, railways, mines and submarine cables — which she acquired in virtue of the Treaty concluded by her with China on March 6, 1898, and of all other arrangements relative to the Province of Shantung.

All German rights in the Tsingtao-Tsinanfu Railway, including its branch lines, together with its subsidiary property of all kinds, stations, shops, fixed and rolling stock, mines, plant and material for the exploitation of the mines are and remain acquired by Japan, together with all rights and privileges attaching thereto.

The German State submarine cables from Tsingtao to Shanghai and from Tsingtao to Chefoo, with all the rights, privileges and properties attaching thereto, are similarly acquired by Japan, free and clear of all charges and encumbrances.

Art. 157. — The movable and immovable property owned by the German State in the territory of Kiao-Chou, as well as the rights which Germany might claim in consequence of the works or improvements made or of the expenses incurred by her, directly or indirectly, in connection with this territory, are and remain acquired by Japan, free and clear of all charges and encumbrances.

Art. 158. — Germany shall hand over to Japan within three months from the coming into force of the present Treaty the archives, registers, plans, title deeds and documents of every kind, wherever they may be, relating to the administration, whether civil, military, financial, judicial or other, of the territory of Kiao-Chou.

Within the same period Germany shall give particulars to Japan of all treaties, arrangements or agreements relating to the rights, title or privileges referred to in the two preceding Articles.

Such are the three articles of The Peace Treaty which ratifies the injustice of Japan. They must be struck out in no uncertain manner in order to entrust to the League of Nations, which has been instituted by Peace itself, the duty of deciding the Shantung question on the basis of Equity, Right and Justice.

**A descendant of Confucius
makes en appeal
on behalf of Shantung at Paris.**

“ The Land of our Ancestors ”

Mr. Kung-Siang-Ko, descendant of the famous Confucius, in the seventy fifth generation, came from Shantung, the birthplace of the great philosopher, for the express purpose of pleading at Paris the cause “ of the cradle of Chinese civilisation ”.

During the course of the dinner recently given to the representatives of the Press of the world at the Foreign Press Club, by the Chinese delegates at the Peace Conference, Mr. Kung-Siang-Ko delivered a touching appeal on behalf of Shantung which wishes to remain an integral part of China and not to suffer slavery which is opposed to the principle of self determination.

The following are the salient points of his speech which created a deep impression and which was received with great applause.

The psychology of the Chinese.

That you may understand clearly the attitude of China towards this war, I must go back as far as Confucius who has influenced the formation of it.

The teaching of Confucius.

What is the explanation of the extraordinary influence exercised by Confucius, who, after all, was only a human being, a simple mortal? It is to be found in the great worth of his teaching, in the fact that, despite its magnificence, it is comprised in two very simple words : “ tchoung and Chou ”.

The word “ choung ” means to be virtuous of heart, to have the consciousness of doing right, of doing one's duty.

The word “ Chou ” means to do unto others as we would have them do unto us, to refrain from actions against others which we would not like to see committed against ourselves, and that men from the four corners of the world are all brothers.

You see that for more than two thousand years Confucius has proclaimed those principles of peace, of justice, of kindly understanding, of international brotherhood that we are trying to adopt now. It is no wonder that for the Chinese, who for centuries have been educated in the doctrine of Confucius, the love of these principles has become part of their nature.

Peaceful China.

Faithful to these principles the Chinese have never had any dreams of conquest nor of territorial extension. The policy of our ancestors was “ to conquer man by virtue, but not to subdue him by force. The nations who came under the sway of China did so of their own free will, because they were attracted by the splendour of our civilisation.

Chinese co-operation.

You now understand why China joined the Allies. In this great war was not the struggle on behalf of Justice? Is not the reason for the coalition against Germany to be found in the fact that she violated all the laws of humanity? Her atrocities and barbarities on land and sea have shocked our best traditions.

The Allies who sacrificed so much for their just cause and for the good of humanity have evoked our warmest admiration, because they fought for what is exactly the Chinese ideal. Our course was clear and we ranged ourselves on the side of the Allies as soon as the circumstances of our foreign and domestic policy allowed us. However, in spite of every difficulty, we have not remained inactive. Chinese labour has rendered appreciable services and it is only fair to say that it has done its share in bringing about a victorious issue.

Furthermore, notwithstanding the violation of Chinese neutrality by the Japanese in their attack on Tsing-Tao, China gave them all necessary help in the shape of foodstuffs, quarters, means of transport, etc.

During the military operations against Tsing-Tao, China suffered losses of all sorts, because these operations took place in Chinese territory. Although Japan was not fighting against China, the Japanese occupation of Shantung may, in several respects, be compared with that of the Germans in Belgium.

The Customs.

It is true that Japan promised to give us back Kiao-Chou, but the Council of Three allowed her a concession there which involves the exclusive administration and jurisdiction of Japan. This concession situated in the centre of the economic life of Kiao-Chou, embraces exactly the roadstead of Tsing-Tao and a part which commands the best anchorage. It is situated just exactly where the Custom House naturally has its site, and the Customs of necessity go into Japanese hands.

Opium and Morphia.

What are the consequences of Japan's seizure of our Customs at Tsing-Tao? Not to mention the direct advantages they may enjoy, the Japanese take advantage of their position to smuggle opium and morphia into China in boxes which are supposed to contain articles for the military.

The attempt to intoxicate a nation by way of a cure is more

to be condemned than the submarine warfare of the Germans, because its effects are more far-reaching, and are almost always fatal, since they go on even in time of peace.

The railways and the coal.

The occupation of the railway by the Japanese is also detrimental to Chinese interests, because it allows Japan a monopoly of **the sale of all the coal in Shantung.**

Exactions and oppression.

In addition to these unsuspected results of the Japanese presence which have their results all over the province of Shantung, the local population is also the object of daily attacks from the Japanese.

Chinese property is appropriated with very little compensation, Chinese houses are commandeered, the acts of cruelty towards the people are innumerable, the Chinese officials are treated without the slightest consideration. I shall not tell all the violations and vexations with which we are victimised.

Suffice it to say our neighbours have in Shantung a regime which is arbitrary and oppressive, and though its exercise is secret and temporary, it is bound to be intensified and to be practised openly and permanently if the Japanese remain in Shantung.

Foreign trade.

Although it will be China who will be the first to bear at her own expense all the inevitable consequences of Japan's seizure of Shantung, the interests of Foreign Powers must suffer too.

If Japan is to remain there with full power over the port and the railways through which the foreign trade must pass, Japan will have considerable advantages.

Notwithstanding Japan's declaration to the contrary, would it not be a glaring violation of the policy of the Open Door and of the equal treatment of the commerce of all nations.

Wilson and Confucius.

When President Wilson's Fourteen Points were accepted by all the Powers, we thought that the application of those principles, which are in agreement with those of our beloved Confucius, would have resulted in establishing the peace of the world on a solid basis of Right and Justice.

But unfortunately we have evidence that new conflicts are going to be fermented in the Far East, and that this war has prepared the way towards new disasters for us.

Appeal to Parliaments.

At the same time we are full of confidence regarding our future.

The Shantung question is not definitely settled.

The Peace Treaty has yet to be ratified by Parliaments.

Certain nations with noble ideals will rally to our cause.

We believe that the League of Nations will not allow this crying injustice to continue, if Peace is to reign in the world.

I am sure that the public opinion of the world when it is better acquainted with the facts will raise voices of protest.

Gentlemen, I appeal to your noble sentiments that you may make known the cruel truth, and the just cause of my country, whose only fault is that it has had too much respect for human life.

As the spokesman of the people of my province, I came expressly from China, and I may tell you that the forty million people of Shantung will never submit to a Japanese domination under any shape or form.

The Opinion of the French Press

LE JOURNAL of the 13th May 1919 :

“Giving an account of the work of the Commission appointed by The International Socialist and Labour Conference at Berne of which the Chairman is Mr. Branting, the General Secretary Mr. Camille Huysmans, the principal members Messrs Ramsay, Macdonald, Henderson, Renaudel and Longuet, *Le Journal* says: The Internationale protests against the peace conditions.

“The brutal manner of disposing of the Shantung Peninsula with its vast resources, and of submitting thirty to forty million Chinese to Japanese domination must not be passed over in silence. It is an open recognition of the right of conquest. These faults are serious and clearly show that this peace is not our peace and that the nations are still threatened with seeing the policy of the conquerors lead to a sharing of the spoils without any thought of the results that must of necessity follow.”



L'AVENIR, Dr. A. F. Legendre.

“The Shantung question is not well known. It seems to be merely a domestic question with no bearing on future peace. But will peace and order be established if China remains deprived not to say robbed of a vast territory which is really hers? Shantung on which Germany had so brutally set her foot is economically and strategically of enormous value.

“China has paid a heavy price for her extraordinarily pacific sentiments.

“ Manchuria, with its area of 800.000 square kilometres (France 526.000) with a great future from an economic standpoint, was seized by Russia.

“ Japan dislodged the latter and is now in virtual occupation.

“ Korea was also soon lost to China.

“ By way of comparison, it may be said that the Shantung question is for China what Alsace-Lorraine was for us, but it is more vital in that strategically it means the very heart of China, and economically it means the loss of vast mineral and agricultural resources.

“ China thinks that if Shantung is lost just as Manchuria is virtually lost she will be literally invaded.

“ Is 1904 forgotten? ”

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LE MATIN, of the 29th June under the heading, China has refused her Signature, says :

“ China cannot be said to be a small power since she has 400.000.000 inhabitants.

“ The clauses of the Treaty transfer the German rights in the Shantung to Japan instead of restoring them to China the owner of the territory. This decision has evoked protests from the Chinese nation and the Government at Peking ordered its plenipotentiaries not to agree to such an arrangement. On the 28th May the Chinese addressed a note to the President of the Peace Conference, stating that reservations would be made when they were signing the Treaty.

“ It was not until the 24th June that Mr. Clemenceau intimated that reservations would not be allowed as they were unprecedented. The delegates pointed out that the Treaty of Vienna signed by Sweden on the 9th June 1815 furnished a precedent. The request to be allowed to make an independent declaration was also refused. ”

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L'HUMANITÉ under the title *Peace and Party* says :

“ Of secret treaties we shall mention only those of 1915, which gave Constantinople and the Detroits to Russia, Dalmatia

to Italy; those of 1916 and 1917 which have divided Asia Minor between the Allied and associated states; those of 1917 too, which assured to Japan, with part of the German colonies, one of the richest colonies of China.

“ When the capitalist governments gave their assent to Wilson's principles, either they knew beforehand that they would consider secret treaties as “ scraps of paper ” or that they would reserve for the same fate the maxims which the President of the United States had enuntiated as forming the basis of the Peace. ”

Passing then to the examination of particular clauses of the Treaty under the title China and Japan the same paper says :

“ The Socialist Party protests against assigning the province of Shantung to Japan. It is a flagrant contradiction of the principles to which the Entente has assented. It must not be that a part of the great and peaceful Chinese Republic should be given over to the military and conquering Japanese monarchy. It is dangerous for the peace of the world to give Chinese national feeling just reasons for rising against the solid imperialism of Japan. ”

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L'ŒUVRE of the 5th March 1919 under the heading The Diplomatic Duel between China and Japan :

“ A sort of diplomatic duel has broken out between China and Japan, which has lasted since the beginning of the Peace Conference.

“ China's delegates at the Peace Conference were not afraid to denounce the aggressive greed which threatened the sovereignty if not the integrity of the Celestial Empire. And they have clearly indicated the source of these threats by protesting against the Twenty One Demands which Japan submitted to the Government at Peking on the 18th January 1915. These demands or rather these extortions were of such a nature that China was and is still burdened and harassed with them. She asks that the unjust burden should be lifted and she offers to pay the Government at Tokio reasonable pecuniary indemnity. This is the stage the duel has reached. It is still undecided. ”

LA LIBRE PAROLE, 21st March 1919. Mr. Oscar Havard :

“ If China were abandoned to the violence of a conqueror insatiable of booty, the dismemberment of the Great Asiatic Republic would precipitate the Far East and Europe into the welter of suffering and blood mentioned in the Apocalypse. ”

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L'EXPRESS DU MIDI, of Toulouse, 20th March 1919 :

“ After dislodging Germany from Kiao-Chou and taking her place in Shantung, Japan does not want to restore to its proper sovereign namely China either Kiao-Chou or Shantung a vast territory which is larger than Great Britain, and which is of strategic importance as a fortified camp for a future army of invasion.

“ But Japan does not confine itself to the violent occupation of a Chinese zone. On the 18th of January 1915, the Japanese Minister at Peking went to the President of the Republic, and without receiving the slightest provocation the Japanese diplomatist under the form of an ultimatum and a threat of war forced the President of China to entrust to Japan the rights and prerogatives which conferred on the latter the whole sovereignty of China. After extorting a signature, the same diplomatist ordered his victim to preserve a cautious silence about the compact. ”

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PARIS-MIDI, in its issue of the 2nd July 1919, under the title The Tension between China and Japan increases, as the result of certain matters which have been brought up at the Peace Conference points out that “ there is a spontaneous boycott all over China with regard to anything Japanese.

“ The public is in sympathy with this action, money changers will no longer accept any banknotes issued by Japanese establishments and the Chinese will not accept them as payment.

“ The Chinese public has decided not to buy a single article of Japanese manufacture.

“ For years we have not seen the Chinese united on any matter, but this time we see North and South combining in resisting the importation of Japanese goods. ”

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LE JOURNAL DES DEBATS of the 30th June 1919 :

“ In yielding to Japan's demands, The Peace Conference has shown a thorough misunderstanding of Chinese matters. It is a matter for regret that Mr. Pichon Minister for Foreign Affairs as the result of knowledge gained during his stay in an official capacity at Peking did not prevent such a mistake which may at a more or less distant date disturb the peace of the Far East. ”

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LE SOIR of the 2nd July 1919. Editor Mr. Gaston Doumergue, Senator, under title *The oil Deposits of Shantung* says : “ So the richest deposits of iron and oil fall into the hands of the Japanese. On the other hand Japan has never unreservedly committed herself to the Policy of the Open Door, manufacturers and exporters are anxious to know if the old facilities they possessed for the purchase of raw material in the Chinese market (silk, cotton, oils, etc.), will be continued.

“ The result of the decision of the Peace Conference is, therefore, not only to affect injuriously the rightful claims of China, but to interfere materially with the interests of all the Powers having commercial relations with China ”.

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L'ÉCHO DE PARIS in its issue of July 3rd 1919 publishes the following telegram from its special correspondent at Washington : Washington, 2nd July. “ China's refusal to sign the Peace Treaty has met with general approval, and there is an important current of opinion being formed in favour of America assuming the role of China's protector. A resolution has been proposed in the Senate inviting the United States to protect Korea from Japanese domination. It seems that hostility towards the League of Nations is going to increase

because of the treatment meted out to Ireland, to China, and to Korea. Japan's growing power in Manchuria, in Siberia and in China is considered a danger to American interests in the Far East ”.

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LA NOUVELLE ÉGALITÉ, of Paris, in its issue of 6th July 1919, under the signature of Dr. Louis Legrand. “ The delegates of the Asiatic Republic tried to have an interview with our Premier, Clemenceau, but as it was a question of a state with “ limited interests ” he told them through his chamberlain to sign first, and they would see to the matter afterwards. What an attitude to adopt towards the representatives of a nation of 350 million peaceful people!

“ A Frenchman who has lived among them for eleven years thinks it his duty to protest on their behalf and to say that this action of their delegates is perfectly sincere as well as perfectly logical.

“ It is common knowledge in the East that the Chinese are as faithful to their word as the Japanese are false.

“ New republican China has a very keen sense of its place in the world; if its past has been splendid, its future will be more so perhaps ”.

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LA GAZETTE, of Paris, the 27th July.

“ A decision of a serious nature which may lead to grave diplomatic complications has been taken by the Peace Conference : Japan is going to get Shantung. If Frenchmen were better acquainted with geography, they would see that this decision is fraught with consequences, for it is impossible that an Ally should be robbed of territory as important as Shantung.

“ The Japanese are exercising an arbitrary regime of oppression in Shantung ”.

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LA LANTERNE, of the 12th July, under the heading : A Military Farce, the capture of Tsing-Tao under the signature of Mr. A. Perrin.

“ *La Lanterne* has repeatedly had occasion to protest against the favours accorded to Japan at China's expense.

“ This mistake of the Allies seems to have a much more serious character for some time past, for in the best-informed circles there is a report of a would-be secret treaty, which Japan would have concluded or have tried to conclude last October with Germany.

“ Feeble contradictions, which carry little weight, have been given to this news by the Japanese delegates, whereas the Allies have maintained an awkward silence.

“ In giving to Japan one of the best provinces of China the Peace Conference sought to justify this act, which is hostile to China, by saying that the Japanese had reconquered this province by shedding their blood for the cause of the Alliés.

“ After having prepared the siege with all the ostentation apparently necessary for a great military effort, the Japanese announced their attack, the German Commander hoisted the white flag and Tsing-Tao was captured by the Japanese soldiers

“ All this farce was well known throughout the Far East. Only the members of the Peace Conference believed in the efforts of the Japanese to give them at the Conference an importance and a role which they had certainly not deserved ”.

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LA PETITE RÉPUBLIQUE, Political Editor Mr. Louis Puech, Member of Parliament, under the signature of Mr. F. Tessier, in its issue of 30th June 1919, says :

“ The Shantung question is not settled by any means. It will remain the big note of interrogation in the international political situation.

“ It is known that the Chinese delegates so as to avoid complications inclined for a long time towards the adoption of a provisional solution which would have “ saved the face ” of all parties.

“ But Chinese public opinion was too strong, and the delegates were consequently obliged to refuse to sign the Treaty. This attitude is all the more serious when we think that of the

five members of the Chinese delegation three had taken part in the proceedings between China and Japan during the war ”.

LA VÉRITÉ, Political Editor, Mr. Paul Meunier, Member of Parliament, says in its issue of the 18th July 1919, under the signature of Mr. Fabrice :

“ The Shantung question takes a new turn from the fact that a secret treaty was projected between Germany and Japan. The question now is not to know if one of the terms of the Treaty is injurious to China's interests and favours those of Japan to a more than corresponding degree. We must find out if the Four have, without saying so, ratified a treaty passed during the war between one of the belligerent Powers and the common enemy. If this is proved, it seems that the American Senate will refuse to sanction the Treaty. Senator Norris said : « If Great Britain and France mean to disregard the pledge they have given to respect the integrity of China, they are free to do so, but we cannot allow the United States to imitate them ”.

And under the title “ Where is the Game going to be played ? ” I have even today said in *La Vérité* :

“ We have no grievance against our Japanese Allies, quite the contrary. But we should like them to show themselves a little less “ after gain ” so that we might still cherish our first illusion that they took part in the struggle against Germany in the defence of an ideal of Justice and not entirely for their own private interests. They wish to show us the contrary. We are very sorry for it.

“ We see nothing inconvenient in the fact that Marquis Saionji chief Japanese delegate thinks the Shantung question settled for the profit of Japan. He defends the **imperial policy of the Japanese Empire** and contrasts it with the **conciliatory policy of the Chinese Republic**. But we cannot say that the case is definitely understood at **Paris** and that the **game is going to be played in the Far East**. The game is not going to be played in the Far East. Besides the

first rubber is not over. The sanction of the Parliaments of the Allies is still wanting.

“ The game goes on in the **Far West**.

“ The American Senate is busy with it just now and Senators Lodge and Norris have made extraordinarily moving appeals in favour of China.

“ The French Parliament will also take the matter up **at Paris**.

“ And the Peace Conference has not yet concluded its labours.

“ The last word has not been spoken. ”

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So the opinion of the **French Press** — at least of that portion which is independent — is unanimous. The ratification in the Treaty of Versailles of the harsh terms imposed on China by the violence of Japan is an injustice which we cannot permit.

At the opportune moment Governments and Parliaments will assume their responsibility, the Press will be behind them, and the country will judge at the next elections.

THE BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF JAPAN.

A secret treaty between Japan and Germany⁽¹⁾.

At the Peace Conference there was a certain amount of talk in diplomatic circles concerning the projected treaty between Japan and Germany which would have been drawn up last October by a special Japanese emissary named Oda.

He was to have gone to Berlin where he would have prepared the project in question to which he added an explanatory note after his early overtures with the German minister at Stockholm.

The ultimate object of this treaty was the formation of a Triple Alliance between Germany, Japan and Russia. The revolution, which a few days afterwards broke out in Germany, did not allow the plans of the Japanese delegate to materialise. The text of the treaty which he had prepared was published in Germany, but the Government newspapers denied the existence of the document, which we are in a position to publish.

It must not be forgotten that among the actual members of the Japanese Government is General Tanaka, who on the 7th of May 1917 upheld the idea of a German alliance.

Now at the recapture of Perm by the Anti-Bolshevik forces on the 2nd of February of this year Major Slaughter of the American army found among the Bolshevik archives the text of the projected treaty and of the note appended thereto. This text would have been telegraphed to Russia after the German revolution by the Bolshevik ambassador at Berlin.

We give herewith the text of the projected treaty and a summary of the note appended thereto, which we have from an authentic source.

(1). On the 15th of July 1919 at a sitting, the American Senate demanded from Mr. Wilson and from the United States Government an **official** communication concerning the projected treaty between Germany and Japan which we print.

Text of the secret treaty between Germany and Japan.

1. The chief contracting parties bind them selves, as soon as world politics permit, to aid the third party Russia to obtain under their direction the management of her domestic affairs and a place among the Powers.

2. One of the contracting parties, Japan, binds herself to assure to the other party, Germany, the enjoyment of prerogatives which she holds with Russia in what concerns Central Asia and Persia, and to help her to conclude a treaty with “ the most favoured nation ” with reciprocal guarantees between the third power and the two contracting powers.

3. Japan binds herself to give to Germany the enjoyment of the rights of the most favoured nation, which are assured to her by these treaties in Southern China and certain privileges resulting from these treaties, and in this intention the two contracting parties agree to oppose all new concessions in those regions which shall be defined later on in favour of foreign powers.

4. Japan indirectly pledges herself to protect Germany's interests at the Peace Conference, so that she may suffer as little as possible in territory and financially in the Peace Treaty.

5. Japan pledges herself to obtain for Germany the conclusion of a treaty with Russia when order shall be restored, a treaty which will assure to Germany military, political and economical guarantees. Japan will use her good offices in this direction.

6. In return Germany pledges herself to conclude a secret military convention on land and sea, for mutual protection against the aggressive intentions of America and England. The details will be agreed on by the special delegates immediately after the conclusion of peace.

7. The secret treaty will define the basis of the foreign policy of the three contracting parties and will be put into operation immediately after the re-establishment of Russia.

8. The present treaty is concluded for five years dating from the restoration of Russia, with the exception of paragraph 4, which comes into operation immediately on the receipt of the certificates of ratification. In default of notice six months before its termination the treaty will be renewed automatically for five more years until one of the contracting parties notifies its intention of determining it.

9. The present treaty is to be ratified as soon as possible and the certificates of ratification must be prepared in duplicate in German and in French, the German text for Germany and the French for Japan.

Explanatory note.

To this treaty is appended an explanatory note of which the following is a summary : Germany's foreign policy in Europe has been marked by one grave mistake : the mistake of not being willing to make peace with Russia in order to assure to the cause of the war the help of socialism destined to fight the "reactionary Tsarism" and on the other side, to believe in the possibility of an entente with England at Russia's expense

A Russo-German peace would certainly have prevented the dismemberment of Russia and the propagation of Bolshevism. An orientation of Germany towards the East would have led to a conclusion of peace with England whom Russia would have threatened in Central Asia. If Japan joined the alliance the danger would be great for England and America.

It follows that the future centre of gravity of the universe consists in the re-establishment of Russia who would have to be aided for a number of years by Japan and Germany.

Allied to Germany and to Russia, Japan would become a military power of the first order with which America would have to reckon, all the more so as the differences of opinion between England and America concerning the liberty of nations is only a matter of time.

Russia would derive from this alliance a twofold advantage, political and economical, and would resume her position of power in the world.

Germany, from the economic point of view, would receive concessions in Turkestan, which would render her independent of America in the matter of cotton and paper. Politically she would see herself in one quarter protected on land by Russia, and on sea by Japan.

The final object of this alliance would be the complete eviction of England from Asia, her isolation from the United States, the expulsion of America from the economic point of view from Siberia, and on the other hand the improvement and development of China, of Central Asia and of Persia, the spheres of influence to be for Germany Southern China, Persia and Central Asia, and for Japan Northern China, Manchuria, Korea and Eastern Siberia.

How Japan governs Korea.

The reign of terror and massacres.

The Entente, edited by M. Charles Leboucq, Member for Paris, gives us the following very interesting account of the administrative methods employed by Japan in Korea.

Before being in a position to examine the claims of the Chinese, which are as legitimate as they can be, we were particularly struck by the appeals of a nation whose representatives have recently arrived in Paris to let us know of the cruel martyrdom of Korea.

For ten years this nation has helplessly witnessed the diminution of its sovereignty, and now expresses its well-grounded fears that its independence is going to be completely abolished.

With singular ignorance of the character of the people of Korea the government of Japan imagined it would be able by means of violent coercion to transform Korea into a Japanese province. Towards this end did it not destroy the language, get possession of its wealth, institute arbitrary methods of education, and suppress the ancient traditions?

This is so much so that the house of any Korean of comfortable means is harassed by the unceasing investigations of a Japanese official. He cannot withdraw money from a bank without first getting permission. Koreans may not emigrate. Should any one, hoping to avoid the arbitrary government and the horror of foreign occupation manage to get out, the members of his family are arrested, and if we may believe what we have been told, tortured until they reveal the whereabouts of the fugitive.

History and Geography may not be taught, nor may one go abroad to be educated. There is not the slightest freedom of speech, even singing is forbidden. A Korean student was heavily fined and sentenced to three years imprisonment by the Japanese authorities for singing the national anthem in public.

Quite recently the Japanese did not disguise their secret desire to annex Korea. Indignation was everywhere evident.

At Seoul a provisional government was set up by the malcontents, and the provinces of the south have given their allegiance to this government. The religious orders and the students have of their own accord put themselves at the head of the movement. The repression

was terrible, as may be imagined. There were wholesale arrests (32.000 in the first days) the streets of Seoul were strewn with dead and wounded. In Korea there were altogether 100.000 wounded including women and children. Are not the figures themselves tragically eloquent?

Nor were the women spared any more than the men. Those who took part in the movement were stripped naked and flogged before the mob. These are the horrible methods employed by the Japanese to enslave the Korean nation.

We are certain the Peace Conference cannot turn a deaf ear to the cry of anguish which has reached our ears. After having liberated our own Alsace Lorraine will it allow a nation to remain for ever in bondage?

R. B.

These two documents are sufficient to give one a more exact idea of Japanese psychology, and of Japan which has been often called The PRUSSIA OF THE FAR EAST.

To the american Senate.

The republicans condemn the giving of Shantung to Japan.

During the sitting of the American Senate at Washington on the 15th July for the examination of the Peace Treaty the debate on the Shantung question was started by senator Lodge who asked that his motion be discussed immediately, and asked President Wilson to give the Senate some information on the project of the secret treaty between Japan and Germany in 1918.

Mr Hitchcock immediately protested saying that the Senate could not believe a vague report of the Press.

Mr Lodge replied that since it was a question of ratifying a treaty giving Japan 40 million Chinese, the Senate had a right to know if there was any truth in these allegations, and all the more so as according to public rumour the text of the secret treaty between Japan and Germany was in the hands of the State department.

Mr Hitchcock made some attempt to justify the transfer of Shantung to Japan saying that China agreed to give this province in the treaty of 1915, but Senator Norris said that this treaty was extorted from China.

The American Senate carried Senator Lodge's motion.

The speech of senator Norris.

The speech of Senator Norris in the Senate was listened to with deep emotion.

After reading the diplomatic correspondence exchanged between Japan on the one hand and England, France, Russia and Italy on the other, correspondence which guaranteed to Japan the possession of Shantung, Senator Lodge openly

accused the Allies of having conspired against China in order to rob her.

“ I do not think ”, he said, “ that a more dishonourable agreement can be found in all history, for this agreement aims at the division of the territory not of an enemy but of a friendly nation.

If we sanction and ratify the treaty such as it is, we sanction not merely the decision already taken but the method employed. If this treaty is to be put into operation and if later on the forty million Chinese in Shantung revolt against the Japanese and if China lends assistance to her old subjects in the United States, we shall be forced by article 10 of the Treaty of the League to sacrifice American lives in battle in helping Japan to keep her sovereignty over Shantung.

The Treaty must be amended, and I am of opinion that if the American people knew the faults, the wicked faults it contained, it would condemn it unanimously ”.

Senator Borah's Opinion.

Senator Borah who has just published a statement relating to the Shantung question, describes the settlement of this question, as it now stands it in the treaty, as a shameful transaction and says that the United States will bring dishonour on themselves if they ratify it.

France would do the same.

We do not doubt that the French Parliament after the information contained in these texts and documents will do its duty and condemn the clauses of the Treaty which ratify an injustice which shocks the principles of Right and Justice for which we have fought.

Secret agreements.

Mr. Lansing's statement.

Le Temps of August 15th publishes the following statement of Mr. Lansing, who was, after President Wilson, the principal delegate from the United States at the Peace Conference at Paris :

At Washington before the Senatorial Commission for Foreign Affairs Mr. Lansing said that Viscount Ishii while Ambassador at Washington in 1917 had not intimated to him the existence of a secret treaty between Japan and the Allies regarding the repartition of Chinese territory taken from Germany. He simply told him that he had assured Lord Grey that Japan would give back Kiao-Chou to China.

Mr. Balfour when on his mission to the United States did not mention this treaty either. Mr. Lansing said that he had never heard anything of the existence of secret treaties until last February at the beginning of the overtures relating to the Peace Conference.

Mr. Lansing continuing said he knew that Japan and Great Britain had come to a special agreement regarding the repartition of certain islands in the Pacific.

When questioned regarding the agreement he came to with Viscount Ishii, Mr. Lansing replied that he had formally specified to the Japanese ambassador that the United States, while realising the special geographical position in which Japan was, being opposite China, he would never admit that Japan had any private interests or advantages in China. He told the Japanese Ambassador that he would look upon the present agreement as a confirmation of the Policy of the Open Door.

The diplomatic duel.

*Viscount Uchida,
Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs,
says that Japan will give Shantung the economic
privileges accorded to Germany.*

China demands full sovereignty in the Shantung.

The Japanese Government, which was silent for a long time on the Shantung Question begins to feel Chinese resistance and the appeals of the Chinese delegates, which have not remained without echoes both at Paris and at Washington.

The Japanese delegates, such as Marquis Saionji and Baron Makino, have recently given expression to Japanese opinion on this serious question on which depends the Peace of the Far East. They said that if this peace is to be **just** and **lasting** it must be buttressed by force, that this force was none other than Japan in the Far East, and it was of the utmost importance to make that force increase as much as possible.

“By driving the Germans out of Kiao-Chou we merited a reward, they say, and we asked as our reward to succeed to all the concessions advantages and privileges held by Germany in the province of Shantung”.

We have said that the ratification in the Peace Treaty of this

unjust substitution is a flagrant violation of the principles of Right and Justice for which the Allies have struggled for five years.

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We are not the only ones to give an impartial hearing to the question, which found eager advocates in New-York, in Washington, in the Senate.

Viscount Uchida, Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs, was very much surprised at it. He wanted to join his voice with those who said that the question was definitely settled at Paris by the Treaty of Versailles, which was signed on the 28th of last June by Germany and by all the Allied Powers, **with the single exception of China.**

Marquis Saionji and Baron Makino were so sure the question was settled and finished, that in leaving Paris to go back to Tokio they said : “ **The game will be played in the Far East.** ”

Unfortunately for Japan, but luckily for China, despite autocratic governments, there are parliaments without whose vote the Treaty of Versailles, notwithstanding its magnificent parchment, can remain only a “ **scrap of paper** ”.

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Viscount Uchida was alarmed at the possibility of the French and American Parliaments refusing to ratify the Treaty, which would nullify all Japan's patient efforts towards absolute domination in the Far East, and towards the seizure of all China starting with Shantung.

“ **Despite our efforts, he exclaims, Japanese policy is little understood or appreciated abroad.**

And Viscount Uchida explains to us that in the ultimatum addressed to the German Government on the 15th of August 1914, the Japanese Government demanded the unconditional surrender, without any compensation of all the Kiao-Chou territory

held under lease with a view to giving this territory eventually to China.

We are quite willing, said the Japanese Minister, to keep our promises, to **restore to China all the territory in question**, but the sense of the clause mentioned in Baron Makino's declaration, and meaning that Japan's policy is to give back the Shantung Peninsula in full sovereignty to China **reserving only the economic privileges accorded to Germany**, must be patent to everybody.

And for once it is clear. Japan pledges herself to give back Shantung **eventually** to China, but she intends to keep *for ever* all the economic privileges which Germany got by means of force from China.

In order to attain this unjust substitution Japan in August 1914 prevented China from entering the war on our side, and prevented her as well from driving the Germans out of Kiao-Chou.

Then by an ultimatum in 1915 and by threats in 1918 they obtained from weak pacific China the **recognition** of these privileges by agreements which were **secret** on the **express demand of Japan**.

*
**

Replying to a statement of the Japanese Minister, Messrs Wilson and Lansing have declared that nothing in their acts at the Peace Conference must be construed as an acquiescence on the part of the United States Government to a policy based on notes exchanged between China and Japan in 1915 and in 1917.

Mr. Lansing has even added that the agreement come to with Count Ishii on the subject of the Open Door does not constitute in any way an adhesion to the Twenty-One Demands of Japan to China.

Then is not the whole matter clear?

Why ratify in the Peace Treaty the Germano Japanese injustice in articles 156, 157 and 158.

Diplomatists have strange ways of applying the principles they proclaim.

With them every simple thing becomes complicated. They make words contradict the meaning they have for ordinary mortals, and I almost think they owe their **distinguished** reputation — as bailiffs and notaries do — to the fact that they so manage that their “ gibberish ” is never understood.

And when we understand, we would prefer not to have understood, for it is an appeal to arms we must answer.

For many centuries peaceful China has put up with wars she did not want. Since Germany is defeated, she demands back full sovereignty over Chinese territory, in virtue of the principle of self-determination.

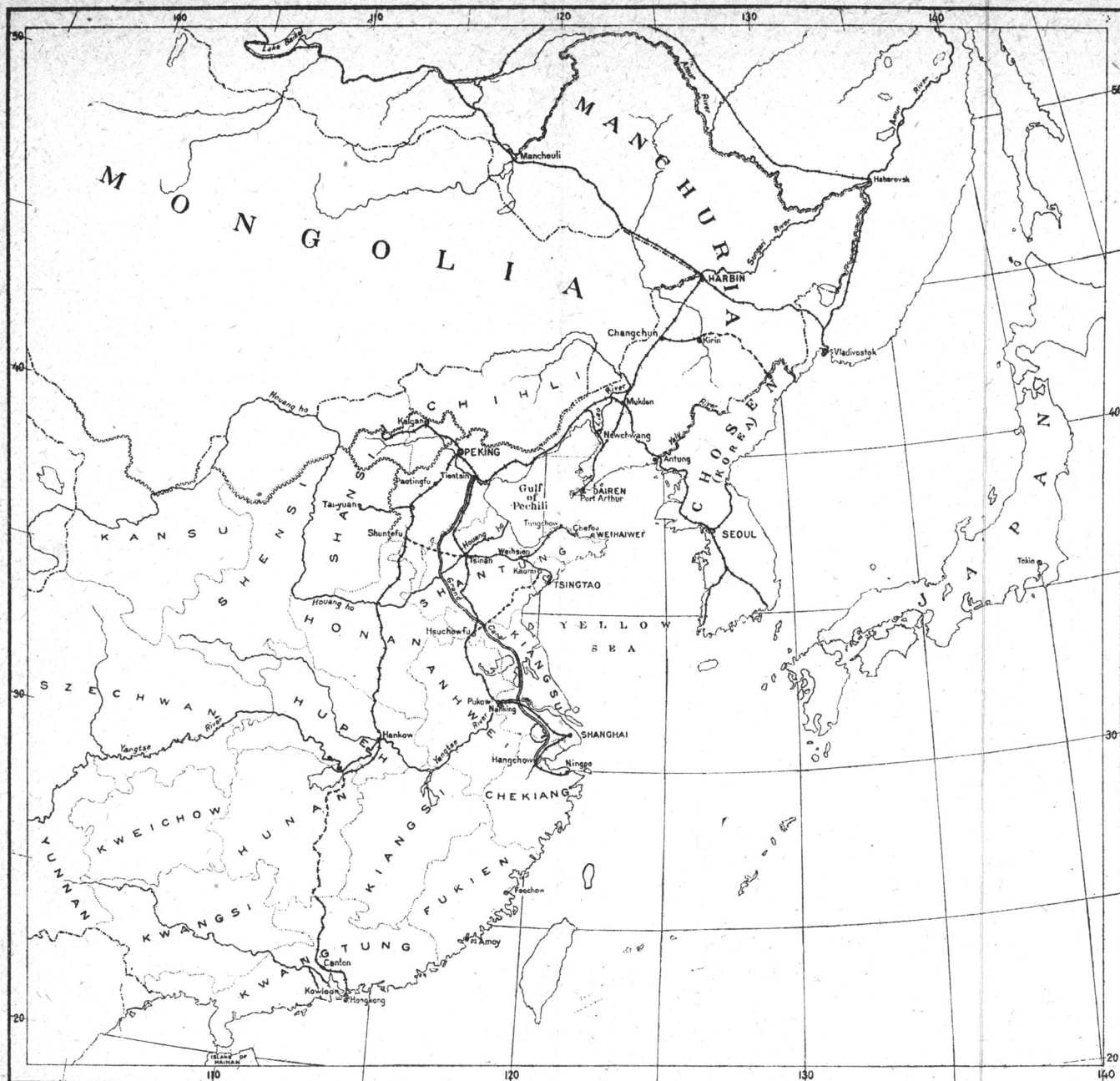
Blind and guilty are those who try to oppose it.

GUSTAVE GOUIN.

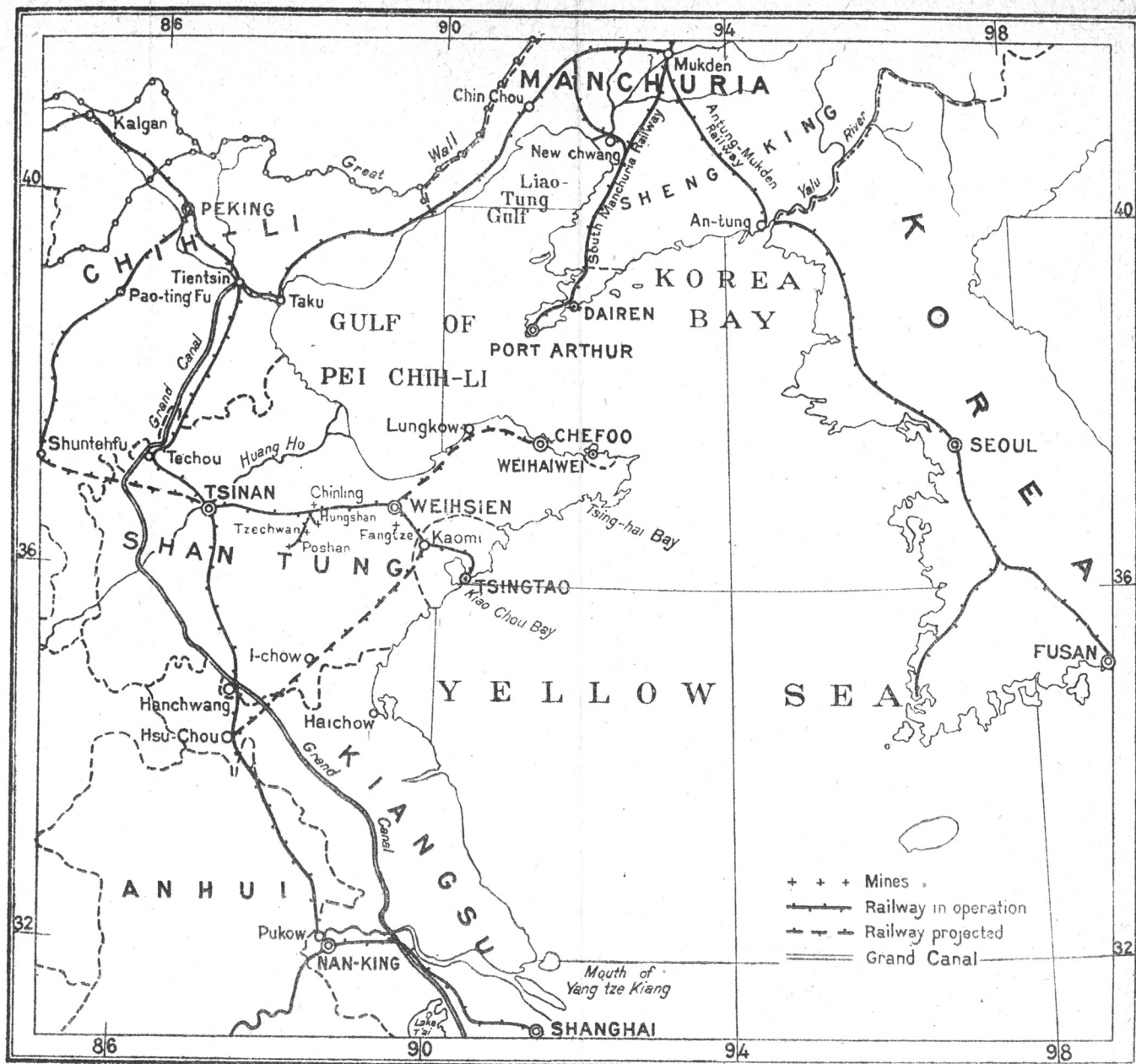
Paris, 15th August. 1919.

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION by Mr. Paul Meunier, Member for Aube, Political Editor of <i>La Vérité</i>	3
TO the Honourable Members of Parliament and of the Senate. . .	5
WHY CHINA DID NOT SIGN THE PEACE TREATY	7
SHANTUNG : Geographical Position. — Population. — History. — Natural Resources	10
HOW GERMANY "ACQUIRED PRIVILEGES" IN SHANTUNG IN 1898 . .	12
DURING THE WAR.	13
The Kiao-Chou bluff.	16
The part played by China.	17
HOW JAPAN EXTORTED FROM CHINA THE SECRET TREATY OF 1915 AND THE AGREEMENT OF 1918.	19
WHY THE SECRET TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS OF 1915 AND OF 1918 OUGHT TO BE ABROGATED.	21
THE PEACE TREATY : Text of articles 156, 157 and 158	23
A DESCENDANT OF CONFUCIUS PLEADS THE CASES FOR SHANTUNG AT PARIS	24
OPINION OF THE FRENCH PRESS	29
Le Journal, L'Avenir, Le Matin, L'Humanité, L'Œuvre, La Libre Parole, L'Express du Midi, Paris-Midi, Le Journal des Débats, Le Soir, L'Écho de Paris, La Nouvelle Égalité, La Gazette, La Lanterne, La Petite République, La Vérité.	
KNOWING MORE ABOUT JAPAN : A secret treaty between Japan and Germany	38
HOW JAPAN GOVERNS KOREA	42
TO THE AMERICAN SENATE	44
SECRET AGREEMENTS	46
THE DIPLOMATIC DUEL	47



MAP OF THE PROVINCE OF SHANTUNG AND THE CHINESE COAST.



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